

TRENDS AND PATTERN OF URBANIZATION IN U. P.

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L U C K N O W

August 1980

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I

Conceptual Approach

Process of urbanization is defined as an increase in the proportion of city dwellers in a population, which implies an absorption of peasant and rural peoples into a modern state; a change to an impersonal style in social relationships; and an increase in the range of alternatives for individuals in most aspect of life.² Urbanization has historically occurred in relation to population growth. But at the same time industrialization has been found to closely accompany the process of urbanization. In the contemporary third-world countries the simultaneity of the two trends, industrialization and urbanization, has been in significant evidence during the past two decades. In the developed parts of the world the phenomenon has been taking place for the past two centuries though at markedly different rates in various segments.

There are a number of intimate links between indust-

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1. The author takes pleasure in recording his indebtedness to T.S. Papola, Director, Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow, who provided the stimulus for this work, offered points and counter-points, and read the earlier draft of this paper, adding much to it in the process. The author has gained much from these encounters.
2. K. Davis, et al., "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-Industrial Areas", Economic Development and Cultural Change, 3 (1954) : 6-24; O. Lewis, La Vida (New York, 1965).

rialization and urbanization. Most apparent is the fact that both typically involve the movement of population out of agricultural occupations. The nature of salaried work in industrial occupations and life in urban context are also thought to have a number of other similar consequences, such as more achieved and impersonal systems of stratification, changes in social organization, and a decline in extended family living, and so on. A basic statement of the expected relationships is that prior to industrialization/urbanization, rural or urban stratification is ascribed, based largely on kinship organizations. Cultural values are assumed to re-inforce tradition by stressing the desirability of sons' following in their father's footsteps. Thus there is little mobility. With industrialization, however, the tie to tradition is weakened, inherited kinship locations are less salient, and there is a greater probability of mobility occurring. It may also be assumed that changes in degree of urbanization exert congruent influences.

On closer inspection we can identify two distinct propositions in connection with the mutuality of urbanization and industrialization. First, the hypotheses that rates of mobility vary directly in relation to degree of urbanization, and second, that variations in rates of mobility can be best explained by changes in value orientations generated by industrialization - urbanization. The second hypotheses rests on the first. A consistent relationship between mobility and

urbanization can be attributed to changes in industrial values. Industrialization leads to a more differentiated occupational structure, however, and both industrialization and urbanization lead to the extrication of occupation from the kinship system; and its elevation to a salient position in the stratification system.

The degree of urbanization of any given society is adjudged by three characteristics : the size, density, and heterogeneity of its population. The larger, more dense, and heterogeneous a population, the more the society could be expected to display a distinctly urban character. Each indicator is seen as capable of exerting independent effect on social structure and attitudes. Large size, for example, precludes intimate contacts among everyone in a city. Heterogeneity makes people accustomed to seeing others very different from themselves, and they become tolerant of differences. Part of the basic pattern of urban relations is vividly expressed in formal, impersonal, rational, and secular relationships through specialization, standardization, and voluntary associations.

On the other hand, urbanologists have recently recognized that economic condition, cultural characteristics, life-cycle stage, and residential instability explain urban ways of life more satisfactorily than number, size and heterogeneity. Obviously, there are certain major transformations in the

course of urbanization, and in these developments, lies the network of interconnection where economic, social, and ideological factors interact on one other. Important among these transformations are : movement of people out of agricultural occupations; clustering of populations into towns that become focal point of commerce, government, religion and defence; supersession of kinship-based and egalitarian groupings by emerging classes - new urbanites, as power and wealth is concentrated in fewer hands; emergence of centralized political authority; increased specialization in the division of labor and the rise of full-time craftsmen and consequently a greater economic interdependence of populations; and emergence of urban centres that become hubs for radiating systems of political and economic integration.

Probably because of the traditional nature of Indian society, India's urbanization has been distinctive from that of the western countries for some reasons. First, India has been a tradition bound rural/peasant society concentrating around fields and villages.* Their traditions produce an environment which do not allow for the replacement and growth of cities as they should. Second, with high rural birth rates, modest growth in productivity, and a low rate of accumulation

* Here we should not confuse tradition with history. Nearly eighty per cent of India's population continues to live in rural areas earning its living by means of farming. To say it more accurately, they do not reject tradition and have no determination to become urbanites.

of capital, population has been moving to the cities at the rates comparable to those of the Industrial Revolution. Third, while people begin to flock to the cities, primarily to gain economic well-being and security by exploiting the benefits of urban concentration, the new urbanites reject the classical urban life-styles.

The new urban growth with its organization of economic and political life, may be temporarily disequilibrating in a number of ways. First, for societies in early stages of economic development, the rapid transfer of energies and migrant workers, from country to city may appear to be 'unplanned urbanization'. Second, the shift from rural to urban values and styles of life may, in the absence of appropriate urban opportunities appear as 'premature' cultural transformation, or result in an unsystematic communication of expectations. Third, the specialisation of place, occupation, and roles required by urban society may lead to wasteful and dysfunctional competition. Fourth, but not least important, the communications technology of urban expansion in newly developing societies may not match the demands placed upon it. There is little communication between most migrants and the larger society - except via agencies specifically designated to deal with the migrants as problems. A vacuum may be created when upward and downward communications are blocked - particularly when traditional communication channels are eliminated.

The first friction that of unplanned urbanization, is found in societies where rapid population growth outstrips

economic development in the pre-take-off period. Unplanned urbanization is a threat to social order because (1) the demand for the minimum urban capital necessary to accommodate the population at tolerable health and efficiency level cannot be met by scarce national resources, (2) the growth in economic and political expectations of the new urbanites rises more rapidly than their contribution to economic and political life, and (3) in areas having high population growth, the swelling city populations are inadequately housed. All these phenomena bring urban institutions under pressure.

The historical process of urbanization in India can be described in a variety of ways - by changes in population size or density, in occupational specialisation, or in cultural values, for example, and the impact of western ideas and technology - more recently by a determination of the people to take a major role in shaping their own life and thought. Our most urgent problems are related to the rapid growth of urban environments which has gone always with economic development and population growth that force the pace and provide the logic for a change of direction. And to understand these problems we have to understand how towns become towns; and how people meet their daily needs, satisfy their basic wants or values, and adapt to urban environment. Excepting only the selected few capital, factory, and religious towns rising specifically with their programme specialisation and internal complexities to bring together enough population to serve government,

industry and pilgrimage, cities in India were not created for its own sake or to be internally self-contained, but emerged to serve as the centre of a larger area - a hinterland tributary to it in some way. From the first, towns and cities in India were really part of a larger geographic entity rather than a self-centered community even in its economic purposes. In India towns have thrived and expanded only by cultivating their hinterlands, whether it is administrative towns, industrial centres, and religious - pilgrimage places. Although the political power (power of the votes) rests in the rural areas, bureaucratic power is concentrated in the towns. Not only are the towns the seat of national and state governments, but they are headquarters of political parties, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations, and all modern mass communications are concentrated there.

II

Urbanization Hypotheses

Methodologically, three aspects seem relevant to the study of urbanization in any society. First, concentration on how the urban fabric is built up - trend of urbanization in terms of broad national parameters: population growth and industry; second, what are the key processes in the expansion of entire urban phenomenon, a system of cities, or, rather viewing urbanism in the context of development theory which attempts to analyse total system change, i.e. relevance

of scale, organised complexity, and the functions of various kinds of settlements; and third, to look at particular places and the sources of their growth.

Although the form and variations of urbanization in Uttar Pradesh are germane to an understanding of development processes, economic development, and social change, systematic studies of them are very few, despite many writings on the socio-economic and technological change in the area. Little is also known about how the organizational complexity of urbanization in U.P. and the apparent differences of general nature of its socio-economic roles are inter-related and how urbanization is put together into one sensible whole.

Perhaps some of the central hypotheses growing out of urbanization process in India, and particularly in Uttar Pradesh, are needed to be clarified : what are the key process in expansion? Is it primarily by internal changes such as specialization of occupations and the differentiation of the urban community into discrete units (classes), or is it by means of overall cumulative change brought about by massive migration in the cities? Is the spread of urbanization brought about by rapid bureaucratization, i.e. essentially by political process? What are the determinants of this selective process? How and why small functional towns show a tendency for decline and stagnation, in due course of time; and larger towns exploit the men and material resources of smaller ones and accelerate their

growth rate? It is also questioned whether the towns are located effectively so as to best communicate with its hinterland (the country side it serves) by way of redistributing services, goods, and know-how. How the towns and cities are linked together economically and politically via the increased mobility of people from ~~one~~ town to another?

A thinking is envisioned that larger cities are becoming so big as to absorb the country side (hinterland), leaving nucleated (village and hamlets) rural settlements beyond its borders. And then these nucleated settlements do not develop rapidly. The interesting question for a proper analysis of urbanization process in U.P. is whether the growth of urban population will produce more homogeneous urban settlements as a result of the adaptation on the part of country-bred people to new social norms and values. The point is that how urbanization as it has been occurring in the state is a different phenomena than it is normally known in previous times in other societies.

While an examination of the issues described above would require a comprehensive, and perhaps, continuous study, it is considered necessary and desirable in the first instance to look at the pace and pattern of urbanization in U.P. in a historico-quantitative perspective. The scope of analysis in the present paper is therefore confined to measure the pace of urbanization in U.P. during 1901-1971, examine the structural

trends in terms of sizes of towns, and if there is any relationship between the size and occupational structure of the towns on the one hand, and growth of their population on the other. The analysis is based on the data from Census of India for the various census years.

III

Trends in Urban Population

The Census of India provides us the definition of urban place as applicable to all cities/towns in the country; but criteria relating both to scale and features of new towns have been constantly changing. The Census Operations had to devise new schemes to reflect the "real urban place" assessing the "differential in the social, economic, cultural and demographic characteristics" of the population. It began reporting 'urban areas' in 1901 and classified the towns according to the criteria laid for determining the urban population. In 1961, the following criteria were used for specifying a settlement as an urban area : (1) "a minimum of 5000 population, (2) 75 per cent or more of the adult male working population engaged in non-agricultural activities, (3) a density of atleast 1000 persons per square mile, and (4) the place should possess a few pronounced urban characteristics and amenities". Towns were then further classified into 6 categories

by size of population, as given below :

<u>Class</u>	<u>Population Size</u>
I	100,000 and over
II	50,000 - 99,999
III	20,000 - 49,999
IV	10,000 - 19,999
V	5,000 - 9,999
VI	Below 5,000.

According to Census figures, the State's population in 1971, stood at 88.3 million persons with approximately 12.3 million in urban areas. Urban population had increased by approximately 7 million persons in 7 decades - from 5.3 million persons of 1901 Census to the 1971 Census total of 12.3 million. During the 70 year period the total population of the State has increased by around 78 per cent, while urban population had increased by approximately 130 per cent. Thus the growth rate of urban population has far outstripped that of the total state population, resulting in an increasing degree of urbanization. Urban population constituted 11 per cent of the total in 1901, in 1971 it stood at 14 per cent. It may, however, be noted that the percentage of urban population in contrast to percentage of total population in the state has been more or less similar till 1931 : 11.09 in 1901 to 11.19 in 1931. And since 1941, the proportion has been tended to increase from 12.41 in 1941 to 14.02 in 1971.

A faster growth of urban population as compared to that in the total population has been a feature of each of the decades since 1911. This trend is reflected in Table 1. From this table it is clear that the urban population has continued to grow, at almost double the growth rate in total population except during the decade of 1951-61, when population of urban places is recorded to have grown at 10 per cent as against 17 per cent of the total population. This can, however, be ascribed to the 1961 Census definition of "Urban Places" : the place should have a few pronounced urban characteristics and amenities. The characteristics for various reasons, were very elusive and left to the discretion of the Superintendent of State Census.

Table 1
Growth of Urban Population in U.P.
(1901-1971)

Census Year	Total Population	Decadal Growth %	Urban Population	Decadal Growth %	Percentage to Total Population
1901	48,627,655	-	5,390,611	-	11.09
1911	48,154,908	- 0.97	4,906,673	- 8.98	10.19
1921	46,672,398	- 3.08	4,936,416	0.61	10.58
1931	49,779,538	6.66	5,568,789	12.81	11.19
1941	56,535,154	13.57	7,016,490	26.00	12.41
1951	63,219,655	11.82	8,625,699	22.93	13.64
1961	73,754,554	16.66	9,479,895	9.90	12.85
1971	88,341,144	19.78	12,388,596	30.68	14.02

Changes in Size-Structure of Towns

What has the increasing size and proportion of urban population entailed in terms of growth of towns, concentration and dispersal of urban population within the urban sector? Number of towns reported in the different Census years reveal a rather confusing and unexpected trend (Table 2). That is on account of the definitional changes introduced in different Census, and for the same reason, these figures do not have significance for comparison. It may, however, be noted that the definitional changes have affected the number of towns in smaller size classes - class V and VI, particularly in the smallest size class. So far as the towns in classes I to IV are concerned, they have continuously grown in numbers.

The figures of number and percentage of towns in different size-classes and percentage of urban population claimed by each of them, as given in Table 2, reveal the following interesting facts, relating to the trends in the structure of towns in the State during 1941-1971.

- i. Although the number of towns in all size classes between I and IV have increased, those in class I and II have increased at a much faster rate than those in class III and class IV. The number in class I has increased by 80 per cent and in class II by 81 per cent. While those in class III and class IV have increased their numbers by 67.5 and

Table 2

Total Number of Towns, Percentage of Towns in Each Class to Total Number of Towns and Percentage of Population in Each Class to Total Urban Population 1941-1971

Class	1971				1961				1951				1941			
	Total No. of Towns	% of No. of Towns	% of Po- pulation	Total No. of Towns	% of No. of Towns	% of Po- pulation	Total No. of Towns	% of No. of Towns	% of Po- pulation	Total No. of Towns	% of No. of Towns	% of Po- pulation	Total No. of Towns	% of No. of Towns	% of Po- pulation	Total No. of Towns
I	22	7.51	57.06	17	6.96	54.43	16	3.46	45.21	12	2.77	37.36	12	2.77	37.36	12
II	20	6.82	10.83	16	6.56	11.76	12	2.59	9.03	11	2.53	10.61	11	2.53	10.61	11
III	67	22.87	16.70	52	21.31	16.65	42	9.07	14.40	40	9.22	16.51	40	9.22	16.51	40
IV	91	31.06	10.44	75	30.74	11.01	71	15.33	11.43	71	16.36	13.47	71	16.36	13.47	71
V	80	27.30	4.74	74	30.33	5.92	169	36.50	13.88	156	35.94	15.42	156	35.94	15.42	156
VI	13	4.44	0.23	10	4.10	0.23	153	33.05	6.05	144	33.18	6.63	144	33.18	6.63	144
Total	293			244			463			434			434			434

Source of data : Census of India, 1971, Series 1 - India, Pt. II-A (i),
General Population Tables, Statement 16.

28 per cent respectively. In terms of growth of the size of towns what it implies is that while relatively larger sized towns, those in class III and class II have shown a tendency to grow significantly so as to cross the "class" barrier to go into the higher size group, those in class IV and class V have tended to grow at a slower pace.

ii. In terms of growth of size within a size-class the towns in class I have far outstripped the performance of all other towns. Though their number has increased by 80 per cent the population of towns within this size group has increased by 170 per cent during this period, as against a 62 per cent growth of total urban population. As a result these towns, which constitute 7.51 per cent of the total towns in 1971 as against 2.77 in 1941, absorb 57 per cent of the total urban population in 1971 as against 37.36 per cent in 1941. Average size of class I towns in 1971 was around 2.17 lakhs in 1941 which increased to 3.23 lakhs in 1971.

iii. On the other hand, the average size of class II towns seems to have declined from around 69,000 in 1941 to 67,000 in 1971. That is why one finds that although the number of towns in this group

increased significantly the size group as a whole claimed almost the similar proportion of the total population in 1971 (10.87 per cent) as in 1941 (10.61 per cent). In the class III towns, however, the increase in population has been faster than increase in the number of towns, thus raising the average size of towns from around 30,000 to 35,000. These towns claimed 22.87 per cent of total urban population in 1971 as against 16.51 per cent in 1941. Class IV towns experienced a decline in their share in urban population from 13.47 to 10.44, despite increase in the number of towns due to a relatively slower increase in the number of towns (28 per cent) in this group as well as of population of these towns (30 per cent). The average size of towns in this group experienced a slight increase from 13,000 to 14,000.

- iv. Thus on the whole, the larger sized towns have grown faster. 10 of the 11 class II towns of 1941 moved up to class I during 1941-71, but only 9 of the 40 such towns which were in class III in 1941 could move up to class II. Of the 71 towns in class IV in 1941, 27 moved up to class III; but only 20 of such 156 towns which were in the size class V, could grow to become class IV during

the 30 year period. Average size of class I town in 1971 is around one and a half times that in 1941, but the figures for class II, III and IV towns have moved up only marginally.

Size and Growth Relationship

In order to effectually demonstrate the trends of growth and changes in urban population of Uttar Pradesh, we have chosen the towns/cities in the 10,000 and above population range in 1971. This population range is chosen because it constitutes the largest number of towns reported by the Census of India. While a comparison among size-classes points to the faster growth of the relatively larger sized towns, an analysis of variation in the growth rates of individual towns within a size group gives somewhat different indication. Co-efficients of correlation between rates of growth of population and initial population size (Table 3) suggest : (i) size and growth rate have no consistent relationship with each other in the towns which are in class I in 1971. The absence of relationship was observed in all the different periods considered : 1901-1971, 1901-1951 and 1951-1971; (ii) in the case of class II towns a strong, but negative relationship was observed in all the three cases, implying that smaller towns have grown faster than the larger ones within this size-class; (iii) similarly significant and negative relationship is observed between initial size and growth rate in the case of class III and class IV towns in the longer periods 1901-1951 and 1901-1971,

but the relationship is diffused and non-significant in the period 1951-1971; (iv) once all towns irrespective of their size classes are taken together, no relationship, positive or negative, is found to be significant for any of the periods considered.

Table 3
Trends of Urban Growth in U.P.

Size class of Towns	No. of Towns as in(1971)	Correlation Co-efficient Between		
		Population of 1901 and		Population of 1951 and
		Growth rate during 1901-71 1901-51		Growth rate during 1951-71
I	22	-.2032	-.1965	-.0395
II	20	-.8391	-.7071	-.7683
III	63*	-.6763	-.5508	-.3945
IV	75*	-.6623	-.6413	-.2848
Overall	r	0.0348	0.0287	0.0081

* Excluding the towns that do not have complete Census figures during 1901-71

Thus while the towns in larger size classes (I, II and III) have experienced a faster rate of growth, than the small ones, similar tendency is not observed within a size-class. During 1901-71 towns in class I category have experienced an increase in their population to the tune of 18.96 per cent per decade, and class II and class III towns also had a growth of around 15 per cent on an average, the class IV

towns shared an average growth of 11.33 per cent per decade (Table 4). But as indicated by the figures of correlation co-efficients in Table 3, within a size class it were not necessarily the smaller towns which grew faster. Half the towns experienced a decennial growth rate of 10 to 25 per cent per annum, and 40 per cent (of towns) less than 10 per cent. But 23 per cent of class I towns registered a growth rate of 25-50 per cent per decade; towns experiencing such or higher growth rates were 5 per cent among class II; 11 per cent among class III and 8 per cent among class IV towns. At least half the towns in class I, II and III experienced a growth rate of less than 10 per cent.

Table 4

Frequency Distribution of Towns by Growth Rates
(average per decade) 1901-1971

Size Class of Towns	Negative growth	Less than 10	10-25	25-50	50 and above	Total No. of Towns	Average Growth Rate
Class I	-	4	13	5	-	22	18.96
Class II	-	4	15	1	-	20	14.75
Class III	-	23	34	4	3	64	15.54
Class IV	1	40	28	6	-	75	11.33
Total	1	71	90	16	3	181	14.12

IV

Occupational Structure and Its Relation with Growth of Towns

Viewed in overall occupational terms, urbanization

involves movement of the labor force out of agricultural employment. The occupational transformation is an apparent indicator of total levels of industrialization. It implies transformation of sources of energy from men and animal to inanimate sources such as electricity and steam. But it is possible to differentiate among three stages of industrialization, each of which corresponds with varying degrees of urbanization. ge

The first stage entails primary or "extractive" industries. Their distinguishing characteristic is direct involvement with natural resources. The next stage involves industries that produce a more refined product from the output of the primary industries. Tertiary industries, the last stage, involve specialized services or research and development functions.

It is possible to view these types of industries as stages because they differ from each other along an identifiable continuum. With respect to relative reliance on labor versus technology, for example, the stages can be hierarchically ordered. Stage one industries tend to be labor intensive. Output is the result of a heavy dose of labor mixed with a small dose of technology. This mixture is largely reversed in ensuing stages, and there is a diminishing direct reliance on natural resources between stages. Primary industries are largely engaged in their extraction, secondary industries tend to begin with already processed raw materials and tertiary industries are often completely independent of natural resources.

It appears that the productive and industrial base of urbanization is rather weak to the extent that the worker-non-worker ratio and percentage of workers engaged in commodity production is low. Tables 5 and 6, show the percentage distribution of workers and non-workers in different size - class of towns and occupational categories. The overall crude activity rate of 28 per cent for the urban areas in U.P. is in line with the general finding that the worker-population ratio is lower in the urban than in the rural areas. Further it is seen that the worker-population ratio declines with the change in size class of the towns, which suggests a continuum in the tendency of declining participation rate from rural to less urbanised to more urbanised settlements (Table 5).

With urbanization, it is recognised that total employment in agriculture and allied activities should show a decline. Data in Table 6 reflect a low importance of commodity producing sector. Manufacturing and other services are the single most important activities showing a greater percentage of employment. Agricultural activities are not really important; the increase in their employment force allocation is due primarily to development of dairying and other such allied activities. Further, the proportion of workers both in manufacturing and commerce have remained constant over the two decades, 1951-1971, - the former showing 26.25 per cent of the labor force in 1951, 28.57 per cent in 1961, and 26.51 per cent in 1971, and similarly the latter employing 22.72 per cent in 1951, 20.05 per cent in 1961, and 20.15 per cent in 1971. However, in order to support the pace of urbanization,

Table 5

Percentage Distribution of Workers and
Non-Workers by Size Class of Towns

Size Class of Towns	Percentage of Workers and Non-workers	
	Total - 1961	
	Workers	Non-Workers
I	27.00	73.00
II	30.22	69.78
III	29.70	70.30
IV	32.71	67.29
Total	29.91	70.09

Table 6

Percentage Distribution of Total Working
Force in Different Categories
(1951-1971)

Decade/ Year	Agriculture and Allied Agricultural activi- ties	Manufactur- ing and Repairing	Construc- tion	Trade and Commer- ce	Trans- port Storage and Communi- cations	Other Servi- ces
1951	6.67	26.25	Not repor- ted separ- ately	22.72	6.88	37.48
1961	7.12	28.57	3.11	20.05	8.35	32.80
1971	9.95	26.51	2.35	20.15	10.62	30.42

the observed increase in the labor force engaged in transport, storage, and communications, one hopes that it would entail the expansion of commodity providing sector.

That few cities in different categories, and sub-periods have shown substantial differences in rapid urbanization and have emerged as "frontier of urban diffusion"³ in terms of industrial employment is made clear through Table 7. It is indicated that there has been a steady increase with size-class of towns in the labor force engaged in transport, storage and communications (5.92 per cent in size class IV, 8.10 per cent in size class III, 10.39 per cent in size class II and 11.28 per cent in size class I), and other services (25.30 per cent in size-class IV, 27.35 per cent in size-class III, 28.06 per cent in size-class II, and 33.50 per cent in size-class I). Besides, a greater importance of (i) agricultura

Table 7

Percentage Distribution of Total Working Force in Different Occupational Categories by Size-Class of Towns (1971 Census)

Size Class of Towns	Agriculture and Allied Agricultural Activities	Manufacturing Re-pairing and Servicing	Construction	Trade & Commerce	Transport Storage and Communications	Other Services
I	4.86	28.56	2.02	19.78	11.28	33.50
II	12.39	24.46	2.95	21.75	10.39	28.06
III	16.87	23.33	3.16	21.19	8.10	27.35
IV	24.57	22.00	2.47	19.16	5.92	25.30

3. See T. Hagerstrand (1966), "Aspects of the Spatial Structure of Social Communications and the Diffusion of Innovations", Pap. Reg. Sci. Ass. 16, 20-42.

and allied activities is reflected in small size-class towns, and (ii) manufacturing within larger size classes. Construction and trade and commerce have similar importance in all size-classes of towns.

We have made an effort to examine the relationship, if any, between the occupational structure of towns, in terms of their major activities and their rates of growth during 1951-1971. A town which has over 40 per cent of its workers in one activity, has been designated by that activity alone and towns which have no such predominant activity, but each

Table 8

Growth Rate of Towns (Size Class I-IV) in Different Categories*

Sl. No.	Category activity	Less than 10	10-25	25-50	50 and above	Total No. of Towns	Average Growth Rate
1.	Industrial	-	8	6	2	16	32.51
2.	Commercial	-	2	3	-	5	23.68
3.	Service	1	45	34	4	84	27.50
4.	Industrial and Commercial	1	2	1	-	4	21.33
5.	Industrial and Service	-	19	9	2	30	24.89
6.	Commercial and Service	1	14	15	1	31	26.59
7.	Industrial, Commercial and Service	-	4	6	-	10	27.38
Total		3	94	74	9	180**	27.10

* Employment Distribution : Base 1951
Population Growth : Base 1951-71

** Base required data for the remaining 20 towns not available.

of the two or three activities claims between 25 per cent to 39 per cent has been classified under appropriate head combining the respective activities. Thus we have seven categories of towns : industrial, commercial, service, industrial and commercial, industrial and service, commercial and service, and industrial, commercial and service. 180 towns in classes I and IV for which requisite information was available are then distributed by these categories and ranges of growth rates (Table 8).

Industrial towns, numbering 16, have shown the highest average rate of growth (32.51 per cent) during the two decades, followed by service towns (27.50) and towns combining all three major activities (27.38). Towns in other categories have, however, not shown significantly lower growth rates. It appears that the activity structure has not significantly influenced the growth of towns, and growth of urban areas has primarily been a demographic rather than economic process.

V

Conclusion

Urbanization in Uttar Pradesh, seems a predominantly demographic phenomenon to the extent the growth in urban population is not necessarily accompanied by a structural transformation of the economy and urban areas, and growth of individual towns has not been consistently related with

the strength of their economic base. Obviously the growth of urban population has taken place more as a result of migration of rural population into cities and towns than of natural increase of the urban population. But it appears that most of the time it is not necessarily the strength of the urban economies to provide progressively larger income and employment opportunities to the in-migrants; that migration has taken place. It is more often the hardships and problems at the native place in the rural areas that seem to have pushed people to the cities.

The pace of in-migration also seems to have differed significantly among the towns of different classes, so that the larger towns as a group have a faster growth of their population than the small and medium towns. Although migrants are not always induced by clearly perceptible opportunities in urban areas, yet they seem to feel that larger towns provide better prospects. We find that over a period of time the number of smaller towns in the size-class V and VI have declined, and the towns in class I to IV have grown continuously. Besides, this is true more for the towns in class I and II than those in class III and IV. Growth of cities in class I has been quite exceptional - the number of towns grew by 80 per cent and the population of these towns increased by 170 per cent.

The size and growth relationship of various cities is found to be positive if comparisons are made among different

size-classes, but does not hold once towns within the same size class are analysed. Of the total 181 (class I to IV) towns, 23 per cent of class I towns, 5 per cent of class II towns, 11 per cent of class III towns, and 8 per cent of class IV towns have shown a growth rate of 25-50 per cent per decade. Nearly half of the towns in class I, II and III have shown a growth rate of 10 to 25 per cent. Moreover, more than half of the class IV towns experienced a growth rate of less than 10 per cent per decade. Thus the differences between size and growth of larger and smaller towns are often sharper in form than in fact.

One important feature of urban transformation is the increasingly visible advantage of urban employment by relying on more technologically complex methods of production. During the decades 1951-71, as the sizes of a number of towns increased, the number of workers in manufacturing, transport, storage and communications, and other services sector, also increased. Yet no significant structural changes were registered. Most of the towns continue to have a weak and deficient economic base in terms of growth and size of commodity producing sectors. The small size-class towns appear to have facilitated growth of agriculture and allied activities, or, at least, not to have inhibited its increasing employment. Viewed in occupational terms urbanization in the state has been slow and uneven. In economic terms, most of the towns in Uttar Pradesh do not have a viable industrial base. Therefore they are unable to gain economically and socially by exploiting the benefits of urban concentration.

The occupational structure of towns is also tied up with the changing character of towns that has been taking place between 1951-71. Our data quite clearly show that the industrial activity structure of towns do not provide any adaptive mechanisms for the growth of towns. A tie-up of towns in the State into any economic and political linkage is generally not evident.

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